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arising from reported comments of the former upon France's attitude toward the League.

The letter of the President to Senator Harding follows:

"EIGHTEENTH OF OCTOBER, 1920.

"MY DEAR SIR:

"In the *New York Times* of yesterday, Sunday, October 17, 1920, I find a dispatch dated St. Louis, October 16, which purports to report recent public utterances of yours. In it occurs the following:

"Replying to criticisms of his proposal for an association of nations, he said in a rear-platform speech at Greencastle, Ind., that he already had been approached informally by a representative of France, who asked that the United States lead the way to a world fraternity."

"I write to ask if this is a correct quotation and if you really said what is there accredited to you. I need not point out to you the grave and extraordinary inferences to be drawn from such a statement, namely, that the Government of France, which is a member of the League of Nations, approached private citizens of a nation, which is not a member of the League, with a request 'that the United States lead the way to a world fraternity.' The Department of State has always found the Government of France most honorably mindful of its international obligations and punctiliously careful to observe all the proprieties of international intercourse.

"I hesitate, therefore, to draw the inference to which I have referred unless I am assured by you that you actually made this statement.

"Very truly yours. "WOODROW WILSON."

#### Senator Harding's Answer

The text of Senator Harding's letter sent in reply to one from the President, asking whether the Senator had been correctly quoted in his Greencastle speech, is as follows:

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

"I have before me a press copy of your letter to me of this date, though I am not in receipt of the original copy. I am glad to make a prompt reply.

"It is very gratifying that you hesitate to draw inferences without my assurance that I am correctly quoted. The quotation as reported in your letter is not exact. The notes of the stenographer reporting my remarks quote me as saying: 'France has sent her spokesmen to me informally, asking America in its new realization of the situation to lead the way for an association of nations.'

"I am sure that my words could not be construed to say that the French Government had sent anybody to me. The thought I was trying to convey was that there had come to me those who spoke a sentiment which they represented to be very manifest among the French people, but nothing could suggest the French Government having violated the proprieties of international relations. Official France would never seek to go over your high office as our chief executive to appeal to the American people or any portion thereof.

"I can see no impropriety in private citizens of France, or in Americans deeply friendly to France, expressing to me their understanding of sentiment in that friendly republic.

"It is not important enough to discuss, perhaps, but I very respectfully urge that an informal expression to me is rather more than that to a private citizen. I hold a place as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, which is charged with certain constitutional authority in dealing with foreign relations, and I am necessarily conscious that I am the nominee of the Republican Party for President of our Republic.

"In the combination of these positions it ought not to be unseemly that some very devoted friend of a new and better relationship among nations, no matter whence they come, should wish to advise me relating to aspirations to cooperate with our own Republic in attaining that high purpose. Let me assure you again of the observance of all the proprieties and again assert that the French Government has maintained that great respect for your position to which I myself subscribe.

"With great respect, I am very truly,

"WARREN G. HARDING."

## JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES

Following prolonged and intimate consultations relative to the proposed restrictive legislation of California, and on the eve of the vote by the people of that State on the amendments which Japan deems hostile in their intent, Under-Secretary of State Davis, of the Department of State, on November 1 issued the following statement:

"The movement in California to recast the State laws affecting alien land tenure has been receiving since its inception the close and interested attention of the Department of State. The relations of certain treaty provisions to the proposed measure is being discussed clearly and ably in California and will doubtless prove an element in the State's decision as to the adoption or rejection of the proposed measure.

"In the meantime the department has had numerous discussions of the most friendly and candid nature with the Ambassador of Japan, and it is believed he thoroughly realizes, as we have sought to make clear, that no outcome of the California movement will be acceptable to the country at large that does not accord with existing and applicable provisions of law, and, what is equally important, with the national instinct of justice."

On November 2 the voters in California, in a ratio of 2 to 1, approved the proposed restrictive laws governing aliens' rights to hold property. At this writing it seems likely that an appeal to the Federal Supreme Court will be taken on the issue of the constitutionality of the discriminating legislation. Meantime the Japanese Government is bringing pressure on the home press to lessen attacks on the United States; and negotiations between Tokyo and Washington are proceeding for a new treaty governing immigration.

#### THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES' APPEAL

Having, through a special commission, made careful investigation of the conditions that have increased friction between the United States and Japan since 1914, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, through its Commission on Relations with the Orient, has put forth the following appeal:

Japan and California are both intensely aroused over the problems, discussions, and political programs connected with the presence of Japanese in California. This commission was established by the Federal Council in 1914, in order to examine the entire question of American relations with Asia and Asiatics from the standpoint of Christian principles, with a view to promoting a solution in accord with these principles. For six years it has been steadily dealing with this problem.

I. It is pertinent, therefore, for this commission to call upon all men of good will, both in America and Japan—

1. To refuse to be stampeded into precipitate action by the vote-catching propaganda politicians, who appeal to race prejudice and strive to arouse mob feeling.

2. To urge that all the facts be taken into consideration. Partisan statements of any group are to be discounted.

3. To await the results of the conference of their responsible representatives in Washington and Tokyo.

II. To Americans this commission would state:

1. While the local stress of the Japanese problem in California is not easily appreciated by States not similarly affected, we should all remember that the question has international aspects of the gravest import in which the whole nation has a right to be heard. California's legitimate ends can best be secured through Washington. We therefore urge California to work out its local problem in the closest co-operation with the Department of State. Any other method is bound, sooner or later, to involve our country in international complications.

2. Only the patient exercise of the principles of honor, justice, and fair play between nations and races can afford

any real or permanent solution to a confessedly difficult problem. We wish to urge every effort to avoid humiliating race-discriminatory laws, which will only aggravate the situation.

3. The victory of the growing liberal movement in Japan, which has been battling valiantly against a long dominant arbitrary military bureaucracy, is essential, if Japan is to enter into right relations with the rest of the world; yet that victory is endangered by unjust anti-Japanese agitation and legislation in America.

4. Americans should keep clearly in mind certain important facts. The total population of California, for instance, has increased in ten years by 1,048,987, while the Japanese population has increased about 38,500, chiefly by births. This is 3.6 per cent of the whole increase. The entire Japanese population in California (approximately 80,000) is but 2.3 per cent of the whole population. Out of 11,389,894 acres under cultivation, Japanese own 74,769 acres, which is six-tenths of one per cent (.006). They also cultivate on lease or crop-contract 383,287 acres, which is 3.3 per cent. As for Japanese births in California, in 1917 they numbered 4,108 to 47,313 whites, or 8.7 per cent. Such facts do not warrant the assertion of agitators.

III. To the Japanese this commission would state:

1. The great body of citizens throughout the United States, particularly those in the churches for whom we are entitled to speak, stands for justice and fair play in the relations of the two countries and in the treatment of Japanese in America.

2. Expressions in Japan of confidence in America's sense of honor, justice, and humanity are highly appreciated here. We confidently believe that a large body in America will exert itself to take such steps for the fundamental solution of the American-Japanese problem as will ultimately justify that confidence.

3. At the same time it should be clearly understood in Japan as well as in America that the question is by no means so simple or so easy of solution as extremists of either side usually represent. The misunderstandings, the misrepresentations, and the wrong-doing are not all on one side. To set matters right, not only a new treaty but proper legislation is needed, both in Tokyo and in Washington.

4. Japanese also need to keep certain facts clearly in mind. Because of their presence in large numbers in California, Californians are confronted with real difficulties that call for real solution. Japanese have settled in several rather restricted, fertile, agricultural areas, tending to form "colonies" relatively impervious to Americanization and where the white population constitutes a minority. For this "colonization" the Californians are, indeed, in part responsible, since the strong opposition of a different social group has tended to prevent their wider distribution. It nevertheless constitutes a serious factor in the situation. Some Japanese, moreover, have evaded the spirit and purpose of our laws, especially in the matter of immigrant smuggling. And there is also the delicate patriotic question of the double allegiance of American-born Japanese children. These facts are widely felt to create an ominous situation, requiring thoroughgoing legislative remedies. Japanese should be reminded, moreover, that a very considerable group in California earnestly desires to have these problems solved in ways that are at once honorable for Japan and safe for California.

IV. In conclusion, we urge all men of good will, both in America and Japan, to join in expecting the best and not the worst and in finding a real solution. For this, time and patience, open-mindedness and sincerity, with friendly hearts and wise heads, are absolutely necessary. Legislation in Tokyo and in Washington, after mutual conference and agreement, should be enacted to rectify the difficulties of double allegiance, of local congestion, and of immigration, of principles that are just and honorable for all.

From California to Texas the anti-Japanese campaign now moves, and plans for the introduction of restrictive legislation at the State capital at Austin at the coming session of the legislature are maturing. In Japan, likewise, the friction is increasing, and student bodies have been debating the issue of war with the United States.

## HAITI, THE UNITED STATES, AND JUSTICE

Inquiry as to the methods used by officials of the United States and marines of the navy serving in Haiti has been ordered by Secretary Daniels, of the Navy, in the following document summoning a court to assemble:

To Rear Admiral Henry T. Mayo, U. S. Navy.

Subject: Court of inquiry to inquire into the alleged indiscriminate killing of Haitians and unjustifiable acts by members of the U. S. naval service, including those detailed to duty with the gendarmerie d'Haiti against the persons and property of Haitians since the American occupation, July 28, 1915.

1. A court of inquiry, consisting of yourself as president, and of Rear Admiral James H. Oliver, U. S. Navy, and Major General W. C. Neville, U. S. Marine Corps, as additional members, and of Major Jesse F. Dyer, U. S. Marine Corps, as judge advocate, is hereby ordered to convene at the Navy Department, Washington, D. C., at 10 o'clock a. m. Friday, October 22, 1920, or as soon thereafter as practicable, and thereafter to meet at such places as may be deemed necessary, to inquire into the question of the conduct of the personnel of the U. S. naval service in Haiti since the navy were landed in that country, on July 28, 1915, with a view to determining whether any unjustifiable homicides have been committed by any of such personnel; whether any other unjustifiable acts of oppression or of violence have been perpetrated against any of the citizens of Haiti or any unjustifiable damage or destruction of their property has occurred. In case the court finds that any of the above-mentioned unjustifiable acts have been committed by any of such personnel, the court will so report in its findings and will further report as to the degree of responsibility attached to each and every person immediately or meditately responsible for such unjustifiable acts, and if further proceedings should be had in the matter. If further proceedings are recommended the court will comply with the provisions of section 523, Naval Courts and Boards, 1917.

2. The court will include in its findings its conclusions as to whether "practically indiscriminate killing of natives has been going on for some time," as alleged in the letter from Brigadier General George Barnett, U. S. Marine Corps, to Colonel John H. Russell, U. S. Marine Corps.

3. The attention of the court is particularly invited to section 511, Naval Courts and Boards, 1917.

(Signed) JOSEPHUS DANIELS,  
Secretary of the Navy.

Attacks on the policy of the United States in Haiti and charges against the officials executing that policy had been published in *The Nation* prior to this action by the navy's head. Action was forced by publicity given to a report by Brigadier General George Barnett, formerly commandant of the Marine Corps, the method by which report was given to the press not being disclosed. In this document he cited charges of "indiscriminate killing of natives," made by counsel in a specific case that he had investigated in Haiti, which charges he seemed to accept as true. General Barnett also alluded to a report of General John H. Russell on insular conditions—a report that had been sent to the Washington headquarters of the Marine Corps, but which was not on file then.

Action also was rendered imperative by comments upon the Haitian situation by clergymen of churches on the island returning to the United States and stating their convictions; and the necessity of fullest investigation was seen when the President of the Republic, in November, ventured to tell his version of the political and economic situation in the island.

One of the essential documents in the case, so far as it sheds light on details of administration of the Marine Corps and its relation to the Navy Department, is Colonel Russell's report, above referred to.